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Introduction to Forensic and Criminal Psychology - (1 What is forensic and criminal psychology)

Psychology and Law (UNSW Sydney)

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What is forensic and criminal psychology?

Overview

- Strictly speaking, forensic psychology is psychology applied to the work of courts of law. However, nowadays the term is used rather more generally to include all aspects of the criminal justice system.
- The term 'forensic and criminal psychology' is used in this book to encompass the very wide field of psychology applied to the law, legal system, victims and law breakers.
- Although both involve the understanding of human nature, the disciplines of psychology and the law can be incompatible. Even when lawyers and psychologists use identical words, they may intend very different meanings.
- Many practitioner-researchers work in the field of forensic and criminal psychology, and the twin skills of 'practitioner' and 'researcher' contribute substantially to progress in the field.
- Historical interpretations of forensic and criminal psychology depend much more on the finishing point than the starting point. Clinically based practitioners, for example, may see the history more in terms of how concepts of mental illness and other vulnerabilities have developed within the legal system and the need for experts in these fields to advise the court. On the other hand, academic psychologists may see the history as lying in the work of European and US academics around the start of the twentieth century.
- Interest in forensic and criminal psychology was at best spasmodic and minimal until the late twentieth century when growth became rapid. Its history can be traced back several centuries to when crucial legal changes occurred which demanded psychological expertise.
- Forensic and criminal psychology now constitutes an important branch of modern psychology and benefits greatly from developments across the whole world. It unites psychologists from a variety of fields of psychology, though it can now be regarded as a specialism in its own right.

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Introduction

As with many aspects of psychology, providing a concise definition of *forensic and criminal psychology* can be problematic. Forensic psychology literally is psychology to do with courts of law. The words 'forensic' and 'forum' have the same Latin origins. A 'forum' is merely a room for public debate, such as a court of law, hence the word 'forensic'. Criminal psychology is easier to define since it is mainly to do with psychological aspects of criminal behaviour, such as the origins and development of criminality. Defining forensic psychology is problematic since it is applied far more widely than courts of law and includes all aspects of the criminal justice system, including prisons and policing. The law deals with virtually every aspect of life and forensic and criminal psychology reflects this diversity. In court it is likely that psychologists, no matter what their specialism, will be asked to provide expert psychological evidence on all sorts of matters. Which begs the question of when is and when is not a psychologist a forensic and criminal psychologist? Currently, many psychologists work primarily in the criminal justice system (i.e. police, criminal courts and prisons). Should they all be classified as forensic psychologists?

Definitions of terms like 'forensic psychology' have changed somewhat over the years. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s when the field was beginning its rapid expansion, some influential psychologists defined forensic psychology in terms of the professional activities of practitioners working primarily or almost exclusively in law courts. Gudjonsson and Haward (1998) were proponents of such a viewpoint when they defined 'forensic psychology' as:

> . . . that branch of applied psychology which is concerned with the collection, examination and presentation of evidence for judicial purposes. (p. 1)

Crucial to this definition is the use of the terms 'evidence' and 'judicial'. Whether or not they intended this, Gudjonsson and Haward appear to limit forensic psychology to legal evidence for the use of lawyers and judges. Moreover, the phrase 'judicial purposes' seems to be conceived no more widely than the purposes of courts of law. Others at the same time also defined forensic psychology as referring to the work of psychologists working in close collaboration with officials of the court:

> [forensic psychology is] the provision of psychological information for the purpose of facilitating a legal decision.
>
> (Blackburn, 1996: 7)

These are narrow and specific definitions – nowadays a broader approach is taken. Such narrow definitions exclude much of the criminal justice system of which the courts are just part – and make no reference to other settings such as prisons and the police service. The work of psychologists in such settings is clearly relevant to courts of law, though they may only rarely, if ever, work directly in courts. Currently, forensic psychology is defined in terms of activities beyond courts of law. For example, the British Psychological Society extends the definition to include much of the criminal justice system beyond courts of law. Indeed, the British Psychological Society does not mention courts of law currently:

> Forensic psychology deals with the psychological aspects of legal processes, including applying theory to criminal investigations, understanding psychological problems associated with criminal behaviour, and the treatment of criminals.
>
> British Psychological Society (2017)

In much the same way, the Australian Psychological Society defines forensic psychology such that the focus is not primarily on courts of law but much wider – for example the areas of prison and other forms of correction, the police, and so forth:

> Forensic psychologists are scientist-practitioners. They apply psychological knowledge, theory and skills to the understanding and functioning of legal and criminal justice systems, and to conducting research in relevant areas. They often work in criminal, civil and family legal contexts and provide services for litigants, perpetrators, victims, and personnel of government and community organisations.
>
> Australian Psychological Society (2017)

Although its language is not quite so direct, the American Psychological Association takes a fairly similar stance:

> . . . forensic psychology refers to professional practice by any psychologist working within any sub-discipline of psychology (e.g., clinical, developmental, social, cognitive) when applying the scientific, technical, or specialized knowledge of psychology to the law to assist in addressing legal, contractual, and administrative matters.
>
> American Psychological Association (2017)

The value of these wider definitions of forensic psychology is obvious when one considers the sorts of work that psychologists do. Wrightsman (2001) mentions the following as some of the things done by psychologists in the context of the law:

- A mediator psychologist employed by a law firm to mediate between parties in an attempt to resolve legal disputes.
- A social psychologist dealing with civil cases such as commercial litigation. The psychologist conducts surveys of roleplaying 'jurors' in order to assess what might work in a real trial.

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- A counselling psychologist who works on the assessment of potentially violent behaviours for the US secret service. For example, threats of violence are often made to the national leaders – which ones are to be taken seriously?
- A correctional psychologist who assesses the competence of prisoners to stand trial and makes suggestions about possible treatments for particular offenders.
- A clinical psychologist in private practice. This psychologist works as a consultant to police departments.

The list deals solely with practitioners and does not mention researchers in the field of forensic psychology. In addition, it should be stressed that these examples are not very representative of the work of the majority of psychologists who claim the title.

Once one could find suggestions that the definition of forensic psychology lacked consensus (e.g. McGuire, 1997) or that the use of the term 'forensic' was disorderly and chaotic (Stanik, 1992). Currently, as we have seen, there seems to be much more consensus. Along with this, the organisational infrastructure of forensic psychology has become much more developed. It is important to differentiate between the *field of forensic psychology* and identifying *who should be entitled to call themselves forensic psychologists*. The first (establishing what forensic is) is essentially addressed by all of the definitions discussed so far. The question of who is qualified to call themselves a forensic psychologist needs to be approached in a different way. This involves identifying the nature of the skills and knowledge required by anyone working in the field, apart from a basic training in psychology itself. In the United Kingdom, it has been suggested that forensic psychologists (i.e. all chartered forensic psychologists) should possess the following knowledge and skills (DCLP Training Committee, 1994). The list would probably be much the same elsewhere in the world, though the precise mix of skills would vary according to the area of practice within the field of forensic psychology:

- An understanding of the conceptual basis of their work context in terms of:
  - the psychology relevant to the study of criminal behaviour;
  - the legal framework including the law and structure of the criminal justice system, for example, of the country in which they practise.
- An understanding of the achievements and potential achievements of the application of psychology to:
  - criminal investigation processes;
  - legal processes;
  - custodial processes;
  - treatment processes (for both offenders and victims).
- A sufficiently detailed understanding of the psychology relevant to the following individuals, including adults and children where appropriate:
  - offenders (whether or not mentally disordered);
  - victims;
  - witnesses;
  - investigators.
- An understanding of the practical aspects of forensic psychology in terms of the following:
  - different demands for assessment;
  - processes of investigation, prosecution and defence;
  - decision making in respect of innocence, guilt, sentencing, custody, treatment and rehabilitation;
  - approaches to assessment;
  - professional criteria for report production and giving of testimony.
- This is combined with an additional requirement of having had extensive practical experience in at least one area of forensic psychology (pp. 7–8).

Underlying this list one perhaps can discern the view that the education and training of all psychologists working in the forensic field needs to be broad, encompassing a wide range of knowledge, skills and abilities. The range and depth of the training of a forensic psychologist needs to be comprehensive – it is not enough to know the minimum to function on a day-to-day basis.

Defining *criminal psychology* in contrast is not so problematic. This is partly because it is not a title that is claimed by any significantly large or influential group of psychologists. Nevertheless, like forensic psychology, criminal psychology may be defined relatively narrowly or somewhat broadly. The narrow definition would merely suggest that it concerns all aspects of the psychology of the criminal. A difficulty with this is that it seems to concentrate solely on the offender. Does it or should it also include psychological aspects of the wider experience of the criminal, for example, in courts of law or prison? Criminality, as we shall see, is not a characteristic of individuals that can be separated meaningfully from the social context of crime and the criminal justice system. Thus the field of criminal psychology must be defined in terms of knowledge and skills which substantially overlap those of the forensic psychologist described above. Indeed, one might suggest that the main difference between the two is that forensic psychology may involve the civil law as well as the criminal law. The use of the phrase 'forensic and criminal psychology' in this book tacitly acknowledges problems in the definition of both 'forensic' and 'criminal psychology'. There is no rigid distinction between the two. Forensic psychology and criminal psychology are to be regarded as inseparable rather than a marriage of two distinct aspects of psychology.

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Other terms sometimes used for this field of psychology include 'psychology and the law' and 'legal psychology'. These more clearly hint at an interface between the two disciplines and practices – psychology and the law. Again, there is some merit in a designation of this sort. In particular, it stresses the two disciplines in combination. The implication is that both lawyers and psychologists may be interested in similar issues but from their differing perspectives. While the terms suggest that researchers/practitioners should be knowledgeable about both psychology and the law, this is also a weakness. Very few researchers/practitioners are trained in both disciplines in depth. In recent years there has been a movement to define a field known as investigative psychology, which seems to embrace quite a substantial chunk of what forensic psychology covers. So topics such as eyewitness testimony and deception detection are included alongside the more statistical forms of profiling (Granhag and Vrij, 2010). Whether or not this term gains wider acceptance only time will decide.

Terms like 'psychology and the law' imply a comfortable relationship between the two. However, attempts at a marriage between psychology and the law have not been without their difficulties. Both psychologists and lawyers may have problems when engaging with each other's discipline. Psychology is not a compact discipline united by a single theory or approach – it is a broad church which psychologists themselves often find lacking in coherence. Clifford (1995) suggested that lawyers should be excused for regarding psychology as a 'bewildering confederacy' (p. 26). Eastman (2000) wrote of the two disciplines as if they were different countries – Legaland and Mentaland. These differ, as countries do, in terms of their culture, language, history and terrain. When the inhabitants of these two lands mix, things are difficult because they have big differences of purpose. Nevertheless, there are times when the people of Legaland need the help of people from Mentaland but Legaland language is confusing to the people of Mentaland – and vice versa. Legaland people are often more powerful and make it extremely obvious that, in their view, the ideas of Mentaland are secondary to those of Legaland. So, according to them, it is the people of Mentaland who need to make it abundantly clear that Mentaland ideas are sub-servient to those of Legaland and that Mentaland people will have to adjust their language. Mentaland people also sometimes need the people of Legaland to give them the authority for things they do. For example, social and public policy legislation may need to be tested by Legaland, then interpreted for the people of Mentaland. In this way, the people of Mentaland obtain extra tools to get on with their job.

For others, such as Carson (2011), ideas of the incompatibility of psychological thinking and legal thinking can be overstated. Although the two can differ to some extent in how they value different sorts of knowledge and argument, probably these differences are less than the general view of psychologists and lawyers might suggest. Too much emphasis is placed in forensic psychology, the argument goes, on the narrow focus of what happens in courts of law. This is to neglect the wider range of settings in which psychologists may have a lot to offer in collaborations with lawyers. For example, there might be a great deal to gain when psychologists and lawyers work together and promote legal reforms, both in terms of the contents of the law and the legal procedures through which the law is administered. In addition, civil and criminal cases both involve investigations and psychologists may have a lot to offer in terms of improving such investigations. That is, psychology and the law might make better bedfellows away from legal decision making in court.

BOX 1.1 Forensic psychology in action

The expert witness

Given that psychologists are experts in many different aspects of human nature and behaviour, it is not surprising that their knowledge is frequently applicable in court. The extent of their involvement is dependent on a number of factors. According to Groscup *et al.* (2002), a quarter of expert witnesses in American criminal appeal hearings were from the social and behavioural sciences. Different legal jurisdictions have different requirements of expert witnesses and certain expert evidence may not be admissible in all legal systems. An expert witness differs from any other witness in court since they are allowed to express opinions rather than simply report facts. The opinions of forensic and criminal psychologists will normally be supported by scientific evidence and they will be required to establish their scientific credentials. The expert witness should not offer evidence outside the range of their expertise. These matters are normally determined at the stage of the *voir dire* (usually described as a trial within a trial but essentially a preliminary review of matters related to the trial, such as jurors and evidence, before the trial proper begins) in the Anglo-American system. Different legal jurisdictions vary in terms of how the expert witness is employed. In

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the Anglo-American system, the adversarial system, this is normally the decision of the prosecution or the defence. Inquisitorial legal systems such as those common in Continental Europe (Stephenson, 1992) are likely to use experts employed by the court itself (Nijboer, 1995) and, furthermore, they will be regarded much as any other witness. Guidelines for expert witnesses are available (e.g. British Psychological Society, 2015).

The *Daubert* decision currently influences which 'experts' may be allowed to give evidence in American courts. The *Daubert* case was about a child, Jason Daubert, who was born with missing fingers and bones. His mother had taken an anti-morning-sickness drug and sued the manufacturers. 'Rules' designed to exclude 'junk' science were formulated. What is interesting is that the decision formulated what should be regarded as proper scientific methodology. That is, it should be based on the testing of hypotheses that are refutable. Furthermore, in assessing the admissibility of the expert evidence, attention should be paid to issues such as whether the research had been subject to review by others working in the field (Ainsworth, 1998). Perry (1997) lists *Daubert* criteria as including:

- whether the technique or theory is verifiable;
- whether the technique or theory is generally accepted within the scientific community;
- what the likelihood of error in the research study is.

This obviously causes problems for expertise that is not part of this model of science: for example, therapists giving evidence on the false memory syndrome in which there is a fierce debate between practitioners and academics (see Box 16.1).

In England and Wales, the main guidelines according to Nijboer (1995) are as follows (see also Crown Prosecution Service, 2014):

- Matters that the judge believes are within the capacity of the ordinary person – the juror – in terms of their knowledge and experience are not for comment by the expert witness.
- The expert witness cannot give evidence that 'usurps' the role of the judge and jury in connection with the principal issue with which the trial is concerned.
- Expert opinion is confined to matters that are admissible evidence.

A survey of American lawyers (including judges) investigated how mental health experts were selected to give evidence (Mossman and Kapp, 1998). Their academic writings and national reputation were rarely criteria – nor was the fee that they charged. Apart from knowledge in a specific area, the key criteria for selection were their communicative ability and local reputation. There may be reason to be concerned about the value of some expert testimony since there are many examples of what might be described as pseudo-science. Coles and Veiel (2001) took issue with the willingness of psychologist expert witnesses to reduce complex matters to fixed characteristics of the individual. So the idea of fitness to plead is regarded in the thinking of some psychologists as a characteristic of some individuals – that is, it is a characteristic of their personality. But the legal definition of fitness to plead (see Chapter 22) concerns whether an individual has the intellectual resources to contribute effectively to their own defence. Naturally, this means that fitness to plead evaluations need to take into account the complexity of the trial in question. Someone may be perfectly fit to plead where the trial is simple but unfit to plead in a complex trial. Furthermore, they may appear competent in one area but not in another area. An individual may be perfectly capable of communicating with their lawyer but unable to understand the purpose of the trial.

Researcher-practitioners

The concept of the 'scientist-practitioner' originated in the late 1940s among clinical psychologists seeking to improve both research and practice. Some argue that the synergy resulting from combining research and practice has not been achieved (Douglas, Cox and Webster, 1999), though this may be disputed on the basis of the extensive research contributed currently by forensic psychology practitioners. Historically and traditionally in psychology, researchers and practitioners were seen as at odds with each other – each side being dismissive of the contribution of the other. Academics criticised practitioners for their lack of knowledge of the pertinent research; practitioners criticised academics for their ignorance of clinical needs and practices. Such views seem extremely old-fashioned and inaccurate from a modern perspective. More and more, employers of forensic and criminal psychologists require that practitioners should participate fully in a research-led discipline. Practitioners do not just apply psychological knowledge; they are among those who create it. Appropriately for an applied discipline such as forensic and criminal psychology, the usual and preferred term is researcher-practitioner rather than scientist-practitioner.

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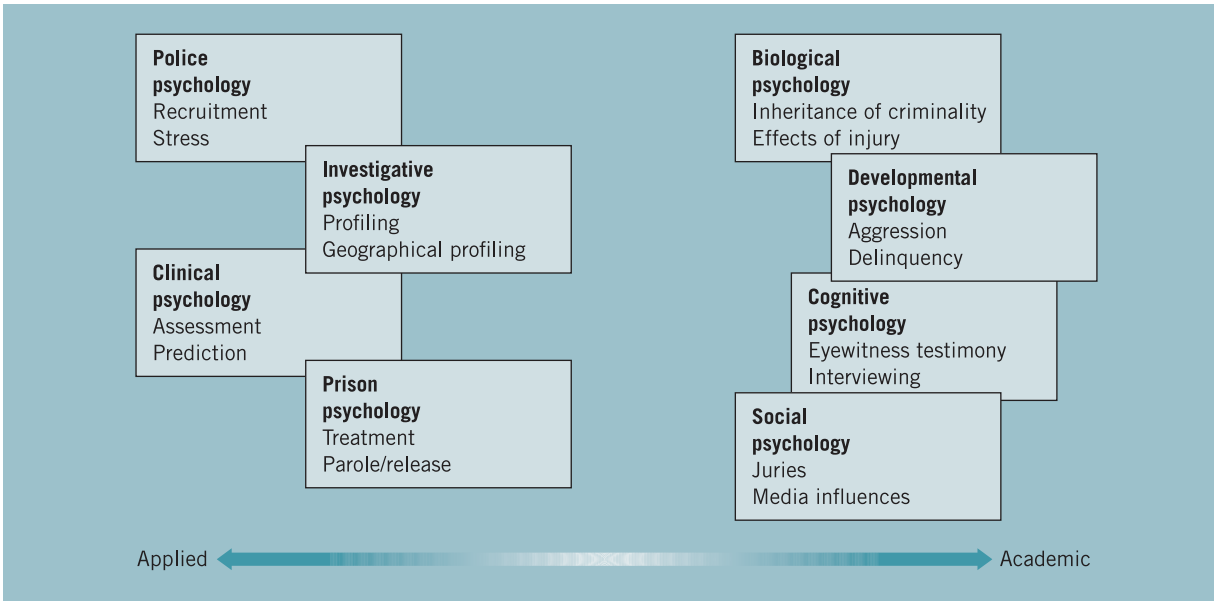

Figure 1.1 Major components of forensic psychology

The latter reflects a view of psychology which many practitioners have difficulty relating to. For some, the purpose of psychology is not to develop scientific laws of human behaviour but to ground the discipline in social reality through the effective use of empirical research. There is another phrase – *evidence-based practice* – which is increasingly used to describe an ideal relationship between practitioners in any discipline and research in that discipline. It means that practice should be based on what research has shown to be effective.

So in forensic and criminal psychology, the division between researcher and practitioner is breached. It is a generally accepted principle that training in both research and practice is crucial to effective practice. Practitioners who understand research methods well are much more likely to be able to incorporate the findings of other researchers into their therapies, assessments and when giving their professional advice to clients and colleagues. Furthermore, practitioners are usually in a good position to know what sorts of research are needed by them compared with academics, whose knowledge of practitioner requirements cannot be so direct. Indeed, academic researchers may have academic and theoretical priorities that are different from those of practitioners. There is nothing wrong with this. Many academic psychologists make important contributions despite lacking the practical experience and training of practitioners.

Figure 1.1 illustrates some of the major components of forensic and criminal psychology. Notice how widely they are drawn from the discipline of psychology. Also note the underlying dimension of applied research/practice as opposed to the academic. The distinction is not rigid but nevertheless must be considered as an essential component of the structure of the field (e.g. British Psychological Society, 2007/8; 2011).

History of forensic and criminal psychology

Many would argue that history is often self-serving in some way. History is written from the viewpoint of the teller and serves a purpose (Quinsey, 2009). It is almost inevitably partial in both meanings of the term. It is made up of accounts which are written through the lens of the present. American and European academics may give rather different versions of forensic and criminal psychology's history – each offering versions that stress the contribution of their traditions to the discipline. The history as written by a psychiatrist will be different from that of a psychologist, since it may ignore the contribution, for example, of cognitive psychology. And the history written by a lawyer will be different again. The self-serving nature of history cannot be escaped. Although the history of forensic and criminal psychology tends to be brief, the history of certain topics which are now considered aspects of forensic psychology is quite extensive. For example the history of fire-setting/pyromania (Umanath, Sarezky and Finger, 2011) and post-traumatic stress disorder (Miller, 2012) is substantial. However, many of the important contributions are by psychiatrists and medical professionals rather than psychologists. It is probably the case that most – if not all – accounts of the history of

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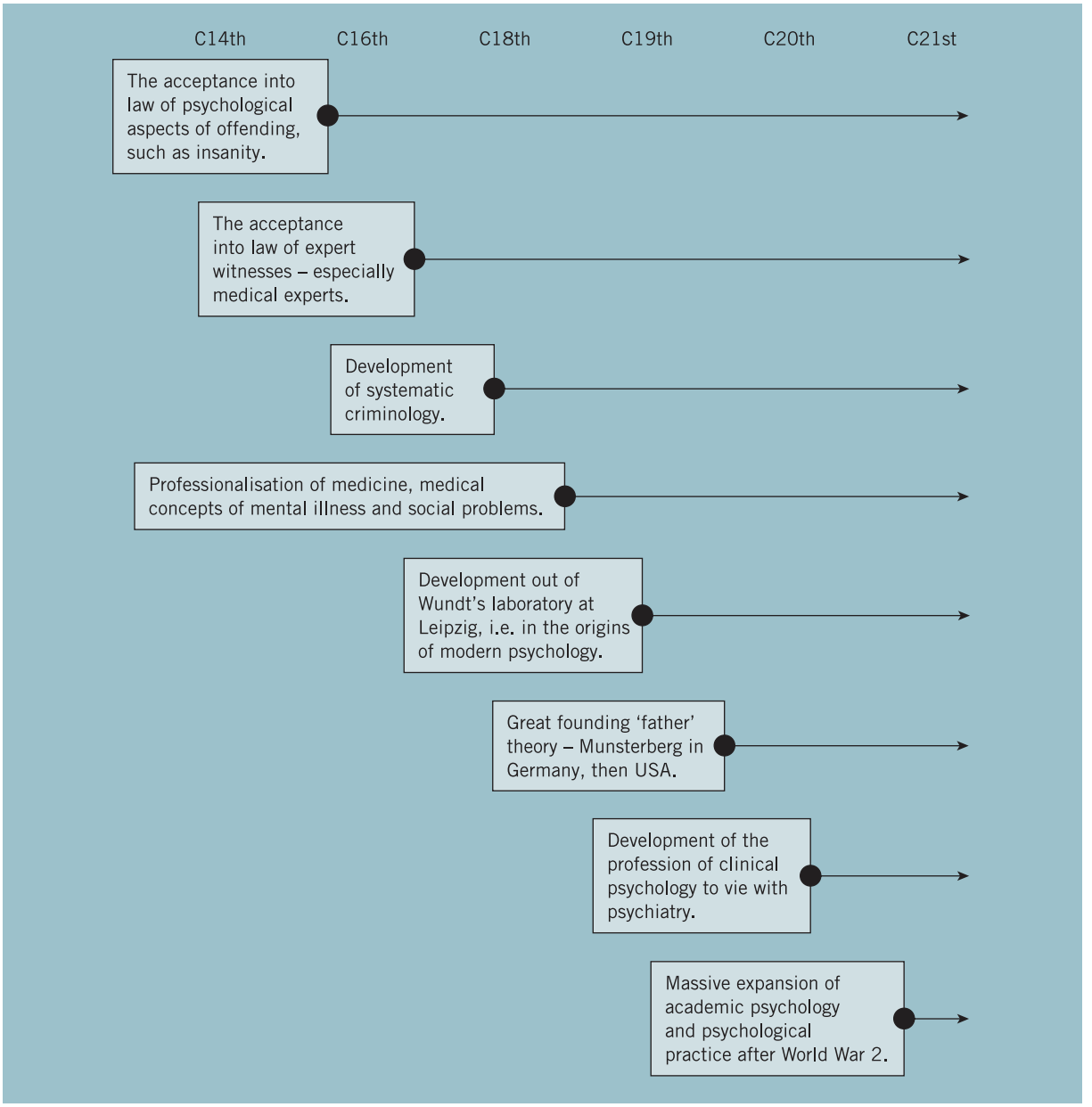
forensic and criminal psychology are more to do with the experimental/laboratory tradition in psychology than anything else. Perhaps this reflects a bias towards the academic rather than practice.

With caveats such as these, it is nevertheless worthwhile to highlight some of the features that a definitive history of forensic and criminal psychology should incorporate. Some important events are to be found in Figure 1.2. Some important events in the background of forensic and criminal psychology occurred long before psychology emerged in broadly its modern form towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Changes in the law

A number of crucial developments in the law that occurred centuries before modern psychology was founded were vital to the development of forensic and criminal psychology. These, in particular, were to do with legal principles concerning the mentally ill and other vulnerable individuals. The earliest recorded legal principle about the mentally ill was that of Marcus Aurelius in AD 179 (Spruit, 1998; Quinsey, 2009) when dealing with a question posed by a Roman governor. Aurelius suggested that the governor should not be concerned about punishing an offender


C14th
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The acceptance into law of psychological aspects of offending, such as insanity.
The acceptance into law of expert witnesses – especially medical experts.
Development of systematic criminology.
Professionalisation of medicine, medical concepts of mental illness and social problems.
Development out of Wundt's laboratory at Leipzig, i.e. in the origins of modern psychology.
Great founding 'father' theory – Munsterberg in Germany, then USA.
Development of the profession of clinical psychology to vie with psychiatry.
Massive expansion of academic psychology and psychological practice after World War 2.

Figure 1.2 Different components in the historical origins of forensic and criminal psychology

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who had murdered his own mother. The man was permanently insane and there was no evidence that he was feigning his disturbance. According to Aurelius, insanity itself was sufficient punishment. But there was a need for the man to be kept in custody for his own protection and that of the community. Had the crime occurred during a period of sanity, then the full punishment would have been appropriate.

Madness was not always an issue in law, although it was a consideration as long ago as Roman times, as we have just seen. Before the thirteenth century, in English law, the doing of something evil was sufficient to establish the individual liable for that evil. The offender's mental condition was simply irrelevant to sentencing (Eigen, 2004). In 1230, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a professor of theology in France, published *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. This contained descriptions of a wide variety of conditions such as *melancholie*. In England and Wales, legal categories classifying the mentally disordered first appeared in the *Statutes at Large* in 1324. These distinguished between lunatics and idiots. In both cases the property belonging to the individual could be transferred to the Crown or some entrusted person. The difference was that the idiot lost his or her property forever but the lunatic might have their property returned when they recovered from their lunacy. Thus the law enshrined the possibility that some mental disorders were temporary or curable. Legal changes allowing the detention of dangerous lunatics emerged at about the middle of the eighteenth century. Such persons could be held in workhouses, prisons or madhouses. By the end of the nineteenth century, legal categories such as idiot, insane, lunatic and person of unsound mind were well entrenched (Forrester, Ozdural, Muthukumaraswamy and Carroll, 2008). Other notable points are:

- The first English trial in which the accused was acquitted on the basis of insanity occurred as early as 1505. However, not until the eighteenth century did courts begin to develop criteria to assess insanity. The criterion developed at this time essentially held that insane persons are equivalent to wild beasts – which, of course, are not capable of committing crime. Such a definition was a difficult one to meet but nevertheless required no degree of psychiatric knowledge to apply – ordinary members of the jury could identify such an extreme case as this. So expert advice from the medical profession, such as it would have been at this time, was not needed. Insanity became an important issue in the nineteenth century when deluded reasoning became part of the legal test of insanity. Such a definition required the advice of experts much more than the wild beast criterion had. In the nineteenth century the *M'Naughten* case (see Chapter 22) and numerous books about the nature of insanity stressed the belief that a person suffering from a disease of the mind and reasoning should not be held responsible for their crime. Expert witnesses were required with increasing frequency and, as a consequence, lawyers became ever more concerned that evidence of experts might replace the jury in deciding the verdict.
- The notion that some individuals were unfit because of their limited intellectual ability had entered into legal considerations emerged quite early historically during the fourteenth century in England. The issue of competence to stand trial (see Chapter 22) was a development originating in eighteenth-century English common law (i.e. law not laid down by statutes but essentially by tradition). The basic idea was that the defendant must be competent at certain minimal levels in order to have a fair trial (Roesch, Ogloff and Golding, 1993). Although competence is a legal matter and one to be defined by the courts and not psychologists or psychiatrists, the emergence of the expert witness encouraged the eventual use of medical and other practitioners to comment on the mental state of the defendant.

All of this boils down to the question of the extent to which mentally impaired people (and also children) can be held responsible for their criminal acts and punished. Umanath, Sarezky and Finger (2011) review this especially from the viewpoint of somnambulism and crimes committed in such a state of night walking or sleepwalking. Umanath *et al.* see formal law dealing with somnambulism beginning at the latest in 1313. At this time, the Council of Vienne resolved that a sleepwalker, an insane person, or a child ought not to be found guilty of a crime if he or she attacked or murdered someone while in that state. Other examples of such thinking can be found in the declaration of the Spanish canonist Diego de Covarrubias, Bishop of Segovia, who claimed in the sixteenth century that sleepwalkers who killed committed no sin so long as they did not know of the risk that they might kill when they were asleep. Others developed similar principles in the seventeenth century: Sir George Mackenzie, a Scottish legal scholar, compared a sleepwalker to an infant and reserved punishment for sleepwalkers who had previously shown enmity for their victim. Sleepwalkers, somnambulists or nightwalkers, then, were not seen generally as sinning if they killed or injured in their sleep without sign of malice.

The first known trial of a somnambulistic killer was that of Colonel Cheyney Culpepper in 1686 at the Old Bailey in London. Fifty witnesses were lined up to testify about the strange deeds that the colonel had previously done in his sleep! Although the jury found him guilty, he was pardoned by the crown almost straight away. The Albert Tirrell case in 1846 was the first successful defence of a sleepwalking killer in the USA. It used what is known as the automatism defence – the idea that the sleepwalker is unaware of what they are doing.

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Quinsey (2009) makes the observation that there has been little progress in concepts of how to deal with crimes committed by the mentally ill over the centuries. This could be broadened to make a more general point. Progress in forensic and criminal psychology cannot be described as being equal on all fronts. Some areas of research have progressed enormously and have been studied in depth for many years. Yet there are other topics which have scarcely been contemplated, let alone tackled systematically in any detail. Throughout this book you will find examples of impressive research traditions alongside much briefer discussions of topics which are only just emerging.

Links with the parent discipline

It is not possible to separate developments in forensic and criminal psychology from developments in psychology in general. To fully study the history of forensic and criminal psychology, it is necessary to understand the changes that have occurred in psychology in general as no branch of psychology has been unaffected. The following examples illustrate this:

- The new emphasis in social psychology on group dynamics in the 1960s was associated with a rise in interest in research on the dynamics of decision making in juries.
- Many of the psychological assessment techniques, tests and measurements used especially in the assessment of offenders for forensic purposes have their origins in other fields of psychology. In particular, their availability to forensic and criminal psychologists is contingent on developments in academic, educational and clinical psychology.
- The study of memory has been common in psychology since the pioneering work of Ebbinghaus. Obviously, the psychology of memory is very relevant to eye-witness testimony. Not until the 1960s and later did psychologists properly begin to address the important issue of memory for real events. This set the scene for expansion of research into eyewitness testimony beginning in the 1970s.

Social change

Both the law and psychology are responsive to changes in society in general, as can be seen in the following examples:

- Child sexual abuse: although nowadays concern about child sexual abuse (and rape and domestic violence for that matter) is extensive and ingrained, this has not always been the case. The history of the radical change in the way in which professionals regard child sexual abuse victims makes fascinating reading (e.g. Myers *et al.*, 1999). Dominant themes in early writings on sexual abuse contrast markedly with modern thinking. For example, a century or so ago, children were regarded as being the instigators of their own victimisation, mothers were held to blame for the fate of their children and sexual abuse was perceived as rare. The massive social impact of feminism during the 1960s and 1970s brought concern about a number of issues. Among them was child sexual abuse, which was found to be more common than had been previously thought. This interest brought to forensic and criminal psychology a need to understand and deal better with matters such as the effects of child sexual abuse, the treatment of abusers and the ability of children to give evidence in court. This does not mean that prosecutions for sexual offences against children were unknown prior to this. In the United States at least, they increased steadily during the twentieth century, although Myers *et al.* describe the rates as modest by modern standards. It is worth noting that countries may experience apparently different patterns. For example, Sjogren (2000) claimed that the rates of child sexual abuse in Sweden were as high in the 1950s and 1960s, before concern about sexual abuse rose due to American influences, as they were in the 1990s.
- Government policy: the work of forensic and criminal psychologists is materially shaped by government policy on any number of matters. For instance, government policy on the treatment of offenders (say, to increase the numbers going to prison and the length of their sentences) is critical. Similarly, the issue of the provision of psychiatric/psychological care (say, increasing the numbers managed within the community) profoundly changes the nature of the work of practitioners. Furthermore, changes in research priorities may well be contingent on such developments as researchers often tend to look for funding where there is political interest and governments fund research into changes they are planning.

We can now turn from the broad societal and legal framework in which forensic and criminal psychology developed to consider some of the key events in the history of research and theory in forensic and criminal psychology.

Early work in the disciplines of criminology, sociology and psychiatry

The intellectual origins of forensic and criminal psychology are to be found in related disciplines, especially criminology, sociology and psychology. Indeed, some of the earliest criminological contributions seem unquestionably

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psychological in nature. There are a number of aspects to consider:

- One of the first examples of forensic and criminal psychology is in the work of Italian Cesare Beccaria in the late 1700s. Beccaria regarded humans as possessing free will, which is subject to the principles of pleasure and pain. This is an 'economic' model in which we are seen to evaluate the costs and benefits (pleasures and pains) of our actions prior to engaging in them, such as when we decide to commit a crime. He believed that punishment for criminal behaviour is not desirable in itself, but is important in order to deter people from crime. Thus punishment needs to be proportionate or commensurate with the crime – and inflicted as a means of deterrence. It is argued by some that Beccaria's ideas led directly to the abandonment of barbaric torture of prisoners in a number of European countries (McGuire, 2000).
- The publication of the first official crime statistics in France in 1827 was a crucial development. Statistical data allowed the development of investigations into the geographical distribution or organisation of crime. This continues in criminology today, and geographical profiling of crime is important in areas of forensic and criminal psychology. The Frenchman André-Michel Guerry and the Belgian Adolphe Quetelet began the tradition of crime statistics. Modern computer applications have refined this approach enormously. It is now possible to study databases specifying the geographical locations of crime down to the household level.
- The idea of the biological roots of crime was an important late-nineteenth-century idea in the work of the Italian doctor Cesare Lombroso. He took groups of hardened criminals and carried out what might be called an anthropological study of their features. He compared the criminals' features with those of soldiers on whom he practised his medicine. Lombroso believed that certain structural anomalies of the skull were more common among criminals. These abnormalities, he said, were indications that criminals represented an earlier stage of evolution of humanity than the rest of society had achieved. According to Lombroso, criminal characteristics include a lack of skull-space for brain tissue, pronounced structural differences between the two sides of the skull, ears that stick out, a bent or flat nose, colour blindness, left-handedness and a lack of muscular strength! The differences could be even more specific since different characteristics distinguished murderers from sex offenders. Murderers' eyes are bloodshot, cold and glassy, whereas the eyes of sex offenders glint. Lombroso is largely remembered for being wrong and few give his ideas any credence. For example, Lombroso's findings could not be replicated just a few years later in Britain by Charles Goring. Harrower (1998) argues that the observation that some criminals are mentally deficient is indirect support for Lombroso's point of view. Her idea is that in Lombroso's time biological defects, including mental deficiency, were seen as linked, though Goring's evidence was that criminals had low intelligence, not that they showed the cranial characteristics Lombroso claimed. Just to confirm how wrong the theory was, Lombroso claimed that it could be used even to explain the lack of criminality in women. It was not that women are socially more evolved than men. Quite the reverse. They were so backward in terms of human development that they had not evolved to the stage at which it was possible to be criminal!

European psychology's early contribution to forensic and criminal psychology

One of the earliest concepts related to forensic and criminal psychology was that of *kleptomania*. The term appears in modern dictionaries and has some popular currency today among the general public. Mathey, in 1816, coined the term *klopemania*, which means 'stealing insanity', whereas Marc, in 1840, used the term *kleptomania*, to mean exactly the same thing (Fullerton and Punj, 2004). The main characteristics of kleptomania for these early physicians were as follows:

- impulses to steal things of negligible value;
- economic necessity was not a reason;
- the theft was accompanied by an elated state of exhilaration together with relief from feelings of tension;
- kleptomaniacs tend to be women.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given its emergence at a time of great economic growth in terms of industrialisation and commerce, the concept was popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its explanation, though, was difficult since kleptomania was not fuelled by economic necessity – the things stolen were of little economic worth – and frequently the thief would not even unwrap the stolen item or use it. The motive was sexual, according to some, and the psychoanalytical psychiatrist Wilhelm Stekel held it to be suppressed sexual desire (Stekel, 1911). Women, it was argued, suffered from penis envy (envy at not possessing a penis) so might seek to replace their missing penis through symbolic objects that they stole (Fenichel, 1933). Kleptomania is not an outmoded concept in the sense that it is a diagnostic category in the American Psychiatric Association's current *Diagnostic*

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and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV). It remains in DSM-V (see Box 21.1).

Early interest in lie detection through hidden emotions (an idea which relates directly to the modern work discussed in Chapter 19) can be found in the writings of Charles Darwin (1872) who suggested that an angry person can control their body movements but not the muscles of the face which are not under wilful control. These ideas reflect very much the approach to the detection of lies through facial expression offered by Paul Eckman in his theory (see Chapter 18). Anyone wishing to find further evidence of the British roots of forensic and criminal psychology could draw on the fact that Sir Francis Galton, Darwin's cousin, tried to find a word association test that would serve as a procedure for lie detection. In this, the truth assessor would say a word such as 'thief' and study the response from the 'suspect' (Matte, 2002).

More important was the development of modern psychology at the University of Leipzig in the late nineteenth century, which quickly led to an interest in forensic issues. Generally speaking, it is accepted that the origins of modern psychology lie in the establishment of the psychological laboratory at this university in 1875. This was part of the legacy of Wilhelm Wundt to psychology. Some refer to this as a convenient 'creation myth' for psychology, but it was a number of his students, colleagues and co-workers who took the initial steps in developing forensic and criminal psychology. Other influences include:

- Albert Von Schrenk-Nortzing (*c.* 1897): in 1896, Von Schrenk-Nortzing appeared at a Leipzig court in a role that some might describe as the first true forensic psychologist. His was early testimony into the effects of the media on matters relevant to the courtroom. He argued that witnesses at a murder trial confused their actual memories of events with the pre-trial publicity given to the event in the media. They were not able to distinguish between what they had witnessed and what they had read in the newspapers. Von Schrenk-Nortzing described this memory effect as 'retroactive memory falsification'. Related issues continue to be studied although the researchers do not necessarily concur with Von Schrenk-Nortzing – for example, Roberts and Blades (1995) asked whether children confuse television and real-life events. Their answer was that children as young as four years are good at identifying the source of their memories correctly. Significantly, at the lower age studied, children can be confused into making errors by the way they are questioned.
- J.M. Cattell (*c.* 1895) investigated using the techniques of laboratory experiments into human memory on the quality of eyewitness testimony. He was an American who returned to the United States to research forensic issues after studying in Wundt's laboratory. His research included situational influences on eyewitness accuracy as well as the issue of whether some individuals tend to be resistant to error and outside influences. Binet, the originator of intelligence testing, in France, replicated Cattell's work. He focused particularly on the question of the amenability of testimony to outside suggestion in interrogations. In Germany, at about the same time, William Stern conducted research on similar themes to those of Cattell in relation to both adults and children.
- Sigmund Freud did not write about legal matters although his ideas about human nature so profoundly affected the legal system that he was given an honorary doctorate in law from an American university. Nevertheless, a number of the psychoanalytically influenced followers of the psychodynamic psychology of Sigmund Freud made contributions to the field. For example, in 1929, Theodor Reik wrote about the compulsion to confess; Erich Fromm, in 1931, discussed the psychological diagnosis of fact (Jakob, 1992). Also in Germany, around 1905, C.G. Jung experimented with using word association to test a criminal suspect – that is, the characteristics of the delay of responding to different words with another word. Emotional stimulus words tend to produce greater delay.
- Udo Undeutsch in 1953 presented arguments to a German Psychological Association meeting that moved the issue of testimony to the question of the veracity of a statement rather than the credibility of the witness.

'American' roots of forensic and criminal psychology

The timescale is short between what we may call the German origins of forensic and criminal psychology and its appearance in the United States. This is because a significant number of early American psychologists actually trained at Wundt's laboratory and either returned home or emigrated to the United States as academic positions became available. Thus early work in the United States involved both American researchers and European émigrés. It is interesting that it is not uncommon to find these migrants identified as the major figures in the history of forensic and criminal psychology. Hall *et al.* (2010) trace the interdisciplinary study of psychology and law to Hugo Münsterberg – especially his book *On the Witness Stand* (1908). On the other hand, Shaw, Öhman and van Koppen (2013) identify Wilhelm Stern (1871–1938) as the recognised originator of the tradition of witness psychology. He had founded the first journal *Beiträge zur Psychologie der Aussage* (*Contributions to the Psychology of Testimony*) in 1904. Whichever or whoever can best be

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described as the founder of eyewitness research, we should not overlook the convenience of naming American-based researchers for an America-centric view. Here are snapshot biographies of Stern, Münsterberg and other such pioneers:

- L.W. Stern (*c.* 1910) continued the tradition of testimony research in the United States. Among his achievements was the introduction of realism to the study of testimony in that he introduced staged events into lectures – such as a student brandishing a revolver, which was witnessed by the class of students! In 1903/4, Stern was the first to distinguish between two kinds of interview called *Bericht* and *Verhö* (Myklebust and Bjørklund, 2006). *Bericht* allowed the interviewee to give their account as a free narrative by the use of open questions. In the *Verhö* approach, the interviewees answered a set of preset questions which are known as closed questions. Generally, modern research suggests that open questions lead to longer responses and greater accuracy.
- Hugo Münsterberg was the first major applied psychologist – and one of the most resolute. He was another of Wundt's students and he developed a lifelong interest in forensic issues. While still in Europe, he worked in support of Flemish weavers who were being sued by a customer. They were accused of supplying material of a different shade of colour from that ordered. They disputed this. Münsterberg, with the help of the great physiologist of the visual system, Helmholtz, showed that the apparent difference in colour was a function of the different lighting conditions involved. The shades were *not* different. After migrating to the United States, he found that the adversarial Anglo-American system of law was not so sympathetic to hearing psychological opinion as the European system had been. Münsterberg's interests were wide in the field of applied psychology (Howitt, 1992) and included jury decision making as well as eyewitness testimony in the domain of forensic psychology. He developed what he believed to be a test of lying by the use of what was basically a timed word-association test. Generally speaking lawyers at the time were interested in Munsterberg's ideas about psychology and the law (Dalby, 2014). According to Dalby, the lack of psychologists with the appropriate skills was responsible for the extremely slow development of forensic psychology until the 1970s when there was an explosion in the number of psychologists graduating. However, others, including Weiss and Xuan (2015) are much more critical of Münsterberg suggesting, among other things, that he held back the development of forensic psychology by alienating the legal establishment.
- William Marston was one of Münsterberg's students. Under another name, he was the creator and cartoonist for the comic strip character Wonder Woman. He developed the lie detector test (polygraphy) in 1915. The prototype for this was known as the 'systolic blood pressure deception test' and employed repeated blood pressure measurements during questioning. Marston claimed that changes in systolic blood pressure are indicative of lying (Grubin and Madsen, 2005). Furthermore, Marston was the first psychologist to be appointed in an American university as a professor of legal psychology (Bartol and Bartol, 1999). Importantly, Marston was an expert witness in the *Frye* v. *The United States* case in 1923. In this, the Federal Court of Appeals laid down the principle that procedures, assessments and technique used in evidence should normally be well regarded in their field. Bunn (2012) points out that the development of the polygraph could not have occurred without the rejection of the dominant European ideas of criminology. The criminal in nineteenth-century criminology influenced by Cesare Lombroso could be described as *homo criminalis* since they were almost regarded as a separate criminal species. The polygraph would be superfluous as the signs of criminality were readily seen. The criminologist Frances Kellor not only refuted the idea of *homo criminalis* but suggested that psychological and physiological tests might be the means of identifying deceit. That is, the idea that psychologically normal people could be criminal meant that new ways of finding criminality in them became important and the potential of instruments like the polygraph was evident.
- Karle Marbe (*c.* 1911) testified in court that human reaction time latencies were such that an engine driver had no chance of stopping his train in time to prevent a crash. This was possibly the first psychological testimony at a civil rather than criminal trial. Less praiseworthy, Marbe also argued in court that the alleged victims of child sexual abuse made unreliable witnesses against their teacher. Society has changed a great deal since that time in terms of its attitudes to children.
- Henry H. Goddard was an American pioneer of intelligence testing. However, he is best known for his failed work which linked feeble-mindedness (sic) with criminality. His most famous book (Goddard, 1912) *The Kallikak Family*, was the study of the offspring of a soldier, Martin Kallikak, who fathered a son by a feeble-minded barmaid which led to generations of criminals, degenerates and deviants. Kallikak also married another woman and this led to a lineage of upstanding people such as doctors, lawyers, and educationalists. Goddard believed that it was low intelligence which led to the

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criminality of the other line. He claimed that in excess of a quarter of the people in prison were feebleminded. He was much criticised and later changed his mind about his ideas.

- Louis Thurstone (1922) published the findings of a study of the intelligence of police officers in the United States. It was found that, in general, junior officers tended to be more intelligent than older ones. Thurstone suggested that the brighter officers tend to leave the force for more rewarding and stimulating work, leaving the less intelligent to be promoted within the police force. This, effectively, was the start of the study of police psychology.

The modern development of forensic and criminal psychology

The development of psychologists' involvement as expert witnesses in American courts was an important determinant of the growth of forensic psychology. Although psychologists could serve as expert witnesses, the general principle was that they should do so in circumstances where they were not stepping into the area of expertise of members of the medical profession. However, eventually it was established that an individual's knowledge of the topic in question was the determining standard for an expert witness (*The People* v. *Hawthorne*, 1940). This meant that the mere possession of a medical qualification was not a sufficient criterion for an expert witness. As empirically based psychology developed, the judicial system gradually became more prepared to employ the services of psychologists in courts of law, especially following the end of the Second World War in 1945 when the professional of clinical psychology began to expand substantially in the USA with an obvious interest in what happens in courts of law. However, psychologists' lack of medical qualifications was sometimes a stumbling block as the courts were reluctant to accept their evidence equally with that of the medical profession (Bartol and Bartol, 1999). However, gradually influential legal decisions contributed a great deal to the development of psychology and law in research and clinical practice. For example, the important case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) relied very much on the admission of psychological findings concerning the effects of segregation of children into the court proceedings. Crucially, in *Jenkins* v. *United States* (1962), the ruling of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia was that psychologists could act as expert witnesses on the matter of mental illness at the time when the crime was committed. The ruling said that expertise on mental disease was not the sole province of medics. The consequence was the increased acceptance of psychologists as expert witnesses on a wide range of legal matters by American courts. So, despite the slow headway that psychology made into courtroom, the 1962 judgement changed things forever.

Another factor was that key disciplines in the development of forensic and criminal psychology did not grow significantly until the second half of the twentieth century. This is especially true of social psychology and clinical psychology. Hall (2007) refers to the situation in the United Kingdom for psychology as being 'bleak' in these early years, owing to the small numbers of psychologists that were working in academic contexts. In this sort of setting, it was probably inevitable that the development of clinical psychology was slow in the United Kingdom. Things were different in the United States where the returning veterans from the Second World War led to the more rapid development of clinical psychology. Nevertheless, from about the 1970s onwards, psychologists were increasingly, though still in small numbers, turning their attention to matters of relevance to criminal psychology. In the United Kingdom, for example, Lionel Haward of the University of Surrey was beginning to speak of forensic psychologists and the work that they were doing to help, especially, defence lawyers. As an illustration of this, Haward carried out a study into the adequacy of a police officer's claim in court that the officer had recorded the licence plate of a motor cycle travelling at speed. A hundred trained observers tried to replicate this but none of them could identify licence numbers in such circumstances (Smith, 1977). Although, for example, Hans Eysenck was proposing his general theory of crime in the 1960s (see Chapter 5), by the 1970s others were making important contributions. For example, Ray Bull was beginning to apply social psychological principles to the work of police officers (e.g. Bull and Reid, 1975) and Philip Sealy was applying social psychology to the jury (e.g. Sealy and Cornish, 1973).

Forensic and criminal psychology has different historical antecedents in different countries. This is particularly the case in terms of the institutional basis of forensic and criminal psychology internationally. The institutional basis of the discipline is not the same in all countries. For example, although universities may provide the training in the legal area of psychology in Western Europe, the training is more likely to be in non-university settings in other countries. To illustrate how the origins of forensic and criminal psychology may differ in different countries, we can consider the example of Spain. The first textbook on legal psychology was written by a Spanish psychiatrist in 1932 (Royo, 1996). The author left Spain along with many other intellectuals because of the Spanish Civil War. It was not until 1971, when the Barcelona College of

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Barristers created a Department of Sociology and Legal Psychology, that the field was reopened. The first international meeting on legal psychology in Spain was held in 1976. While the specific details differ from country to country (see accounts of the development of the discipline in Hungary in Szegedi, 1998; in Portugal in Goncalves, 1998), generally speaking, it would be a common experience in different countries that forensic and criminal psychology, despite early interest, was in the doldrums until the 1970s (cf. Wrightsman, 2001), certainly in the United States and Western Europe. Important things were happening, as we have seen, but these cannot mask the relative inattention to forensic issues until the 1970s and 1980s. It should also be noted that the pattern of the steady expansion of forensic and criminal psychology since that time is not characteristic of all nations, especially those in Eastern Europe (Kury, 1998).

In the period since the 1970s and 1980s forensic and criminal psychology has developed extensively as a discipline as well as in its institutional base. One might say it has burgeoned, flourished and prospered. (Heilbrun and Brooks (2010) date the rapid expansion of forensic psychology as from about 1980.) Royo (1996) suggests that there are four basic ways in which a discipline may be consolidated. These are the formation of associations, the creation of specialised books and journals, the legal institutionalisation of the discipline as part of the process of criminal justice and the creation of university courses devoted to the subject. All of these things can be recognised in forensic and criminal psychology to varying extents. Some of the key institutional happenings include:

- *Formation of Associations:* Particularly important in the development of any sub-discipline are meetings and associations of like-minded researchers which help them to form research relationships between universities and other organisations both nationally and internationally.
    1. The American Psychology-Law Association was established in 1969 (Grisso, 1991) and was influential in the creation of the Psychology and Law division (division 41) of the American Psychological Association (APA), with which it merged in 1981. The association began publishing the highly influential journal *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* in 1977. Often overlooked, however, Division 18 of the American Psychological Association – Psychologists in Public Service – formed a criminal justice section in 1975.
    2. The Division of Criminological and Legal Psychology was established by the British Psychological Society in 1977 but renamed the Division of Forensic Psychology in 1999. The division began publishing the journal *Legal and Criminological Psychology* in 1996.
    3. The Australia and New Zealand Association of Psychiatry, Psychology and Law was founded in 1972 and began publishing the journal *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law* in 1993.
    4. The European Association of Psychology and the Law grew slowly from initially small meetings, such as those held at the University of Oxford in the 1980s. Dominated initially by small fledgling research communities in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, the first European conference on psychology and the law was held in Maastricht, Netherlands in 1988. This led to a second European meeting in Nuremberg, Germany, which led to the founding of the European Association of Psychology and the Law.
    5. The Nordic Network for research on Psychology and Law began in Sweden in 2004.
- *Professional education:* According to Shaw *et al.* (2013), postgraduate psychology and law programmes are to be found in many countries. There are over 30 in the US, 20 in the UK, nine in Australia, four in Germany, four in Spain, three in Russia, three in Canada and one in Sweden, for example. Such a supply of qualified postgraduates contributes greatly to the future of any discipline.
- *Publications:* The number of journals which publish articles in the field of psychology and the law is large and includes important mainstream journals such as *Psychological Bulletin*. Black (2012) carried out a study of the most frequently cited articles listed in six forensic psychology journals, including *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* and *Law and Human Behavior*. He found nearly 22,000 citations to publications in a wide variety of journals. The top 68 most frequently cited journals contained only 15 specific to legal psychology. The top 68 journals only contained 47 per cent of the total number of citations. In other words, not only are there a substantial number of specialist journals in the field of forensic/legal psychology but there are numerous other publication opportunities available to researchers in mainstream and general psychology journals.

The field of forensic and criminal psychology is not now fixed with its foci, boundaries and future clearly defined. It is an evolving field that will inevitably change:

- Developments in both the law and psychology will ensure that new issues become incorporated into the field. For example, the development of the concept of stalking and its first incorporation into law in California in 1990 (Emerson, Ferris and Gardner, 1998) led to considerable psychological and psychiatric effort to understand stalking behaviour. Now it is a substantial research area in its own right. Right now there are

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probably new developments which will generate intense research interest from forensic and criminal psychology, but it would take a brave soul to predict precisely what they may be.

- Increased employment of psychologists as personnel within different components of the criminal justice system will bring its own developments. So too will increases in private practice in the field. For example, a broadening of the role of psychology in police organisations – such as the recruitment of officers – will bring a shift of interest in that direction.
- Increasing numbers of students training as forensic and criminal psychologists will ensure a fuller professionalisation of work and practice.

Main points

- The sub-discipline of forensic and criminal psychology deals with aspects of psychology relevant to the criminal justice system though, taken literally, the term 'forensic psychology' refers to psychology in the context of law courts. The wider definition of the field underlies the selection of material in this book. As a consequence of the broad definition, the field unites psychologists from a wide variety of academic and practitioner backgrounds.
- Forensic and criminal psychology began to become important in the 1980s and increasingly so afterwards. Its history can be taken back many centuries to the times when issues such as diminished responsibility and fitness to stand trial were first developed in the legal system and so the demand arose for expert help from outside of the court itself. There was a period of interest in forensic and criminal psychology during the early years of academic psychology around 1900. However, for most of the twentieth century there was very little interest in the field.
- Forensic and criminal psychology has developed an appropriate infrastructure to ensure its continued development. This includes specialist international organisations and journals in which the latest research is published.

Further reading

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